

A POLITICAL REPORT BY CHOU EN-LAI

THREE DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE
CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES
FOR PEACE

Supplement to "People's China"

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CHOU EN-LAI'S POLITICAL REPORT TO THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE FIRST NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

February 4, 1953

COMRADE CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE
COMMITTEE AND COMRADES:

The fourth session of this National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is being held at a time when the Chinese people's struggle against American aggression and for aid to Korea is being continuously intensified; when the stage of economic restoration of our country has come to a close and when the first five-year plan of national economic construction is beginning. It is being held at a time when the Central People's Government has adopted a resolution calling for the convening this year of the people's congresses at the *hsiang*, *hsien* and provincial (or municipal) level, to be elected by universal franchise, and for the subsequent convening, on the foundations thus laid, of the All-China People's Congress, so as further to strengthen our state system of the people's democratic dictatorship. A tremendous and glorious task thus lies before us.

Let us look back to three years and four months ago. At that time, when our People's Republic of China first came into being, conditions were not yet present for us to embark on large-scale planned economic construction. National unification had yet to be completed; the residue of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial system had yet to be wiped out; the new democratic social system had yet to be established; the scars of more than twenty long years of war had yet to be healed; the level of the political consciousness of the people had yet to be raised and their sense of organisation strengthened. For this reason, our task during the past three years and more has been to concentrate all our efforts on creating the necessary conditions for our people to be able to strive for national industrialisation and to ensure that our nation proceeds steadily towards

Socialism. Adapting ourselves to the situation at that period, we adopted provisional measures, with the plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference temporarily exercising the functions and powers of the All-China People's Congress, and with the local people's representative conferences of all circles taking on step by step the functions and powers of the local people's congresses at all levels. At the same time, the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference became a provisional charter for achieving the revolutionary unity of all the people of China.

Under the leadership of the great Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people have in the past three years and more won brilliant victories on all fronts by their firm efforts and their resolute struggle against the enemies both at home and abroad, bringing deep and basic changes to every aspect of Chinese society.

An unprecedented unity of the people has been brought about in our country. Apart from Taiwan, more than two million bandits have been mopped up on the mainland of China and the counter-revolutionary remnants have suffered heavy blows. We have successfully carried out the work of strengthening our national defences and have effectively smashed the frantic conspiracy of the American imperialists of trying to occupy Korea and then invade China's mainland. We have achieved unprecedented success in our national independence and unification.

Except for a few national minority areas, land reform has been completed in areas throughout the country embracing a rural population of some 450 million and the basis of feudalism has been thoroughly shattered. The remaining prerogatives of imperialism have been abolished and the era in which the Chinese people were used as objects of plunder and exploita-

tion has come to a close. All enterprises belonging to bureaucratic capital have been taken over by the state, thoroughly reorganised and changed into state-owned enterprises of a socialist character.

Industrial and agricultural production has not only been completely restored throughout the country but has in general surpassed the highest levels of past years. Correspondingly, communications and transport have also been restored and developed to a very great degree. Internal trade has become brisk and is growing steadily as a result of the big advances in the exchange of goods between town and country. The income and expenditure of the state have been balanced and commodity prices throughout the country stabilised. There has been a marked improvement in the material and cultural life and the health conditions of the people.

There has been a great growth in the strength and the relative proportion of the state-owned economy which is socialist in character. In the fields of industry and wholesale trade, the state economy is in the superior, leading position. In 1952, state-owned industry accounted for more than 60 per cent of the nation's total industrial output, handicraft industry excluded. In heavy industry it accounted for some 80 per cent and in light industry for some 50 per cent. Wholesale business transactions concerning major commodities related to the national interest and the people's livelihood—such as grain, cotton, cotton yarn, cotton piece-goods, iron and steel, coal, timber, oil and fats, salt and important exports, etc.—are all in the main handled by the state. All banks in China have been placed under unified management by the state. All this guarantees the requirements of social production and consumption, stabilisation of commodity prices throughout the country and of the national finances, the balancing of export and import trade and of state income and expenditure. At the same time, private industrialists and merchants have on the other hand gradually cut out or avoided blind, speculative and disruptive activities, thus following the road laid down in the Common Programme and achieving a certain development. This is a result of the leadership given by the state economic organisations and administrative institutions and their assistance to private industrialists and merchants in such ways as placing orders, giving goods for processing, buying goods up reasonably and making readjustments in commerce; it is also a result of the great *wu fan* movement which eliminated the *wu tu** detrimental to the national economy and the life of the people. Reorganisation of the individual economy of peasants and handicraftsmen has begun

* Five types of harmful business practices—Ed. P. C.

and there is a great expansion in the agricultural mutual-aid and co-operative movements. In the old liberated areas organised peasant households in general now amount to more than 65 per cent of all peasant households, and in the newly liberated areas they generally account for some 25 per cent. In the country as a whole, nearly 4,000 agricultural co-operatives have been set up, more than ten experimental collective farms, over 2,000 state farms, and upwards of 2,600 handicraft co-operatives started. Up to the end of 1952, there were more than 34,000 supply and marketing co-operatives throughout China with a total membership of more than 141 million. Their purchases of agricultural products represent on the average some 60 per cent of all state purchases. Obviously these facts show that the mutual-aid and co-operative movements have become an increasingly important factor in the economy of new democracy.

Throughout the country, the Chinese people have taken a step forward in their organisation under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and by means of the various people's organisations, such as trade unions, peasant associations, the New Democratic Youth League, the women's federations, the students' associations, the associations of industrialists and merchants, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, and the popular organisations in the arts and sciences. By relying on the strength of the broad masses of the people, we have carried out during the past three years such great struggles as land reform, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, the resist American aggression and aid Korea movement, the *san fan* and *wu fan* movements and the remoulding of intellectuals.

The education given by these struggles has raised the Chinese people's consciousness to a level never known before. In this respect, the most striking achievements are: the political consciousness of the masses in our country in drawing a sharp distinction between ourselves and the enemy; the destruction of the residual influence of the Chinese counter-revolutionaries and the imperialists; the repudiation of decadent capitalist thinking and the further consolidation of the leading role of the working class and of socialist ideology. All this has more than ever strengthened our people's democratic united front; hundreds of millions of people becoming a single organised and conscious force. Throughout the past year, the people of all circles in the country have taken up the study of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* and the Common Programme. More recently, they have embarked on the study of Comrade Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* and Comrade Malenkov's *Report to the Nineteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.* These studies will arm us and enable us

to work and remould ourselves better and more consciously.

Since the return of the Tibetan people to the great family of the Motherland, the solidarity between the Han and Tibetan peoples has made immense progress. National autonomous regions are being set up step by step in the areas inhabited by the national minorities. Patriotism and political consciousness are growing daily among the peoples of all nationalities. Fraternal relations of equality, co-operation, friendliness and solidarity among all these nationalities are being increasingly consolidated. United within one big family in our great Motherland, these nationalities have embarked on developments of historic importance in their political, economic and cultural life.

All these achievements show that the leading position of the working class of our country has been strengthened economically, politically and ideologically; that our economy, which was disrupted by prolonged wars, has been rehabilitated and that a solid foundation has been laid for the people's democratic dictatorship. This has created favourable conditions for our long-term, planned, large-scale national construction.

It must be pointed out that these successes were attained mainly in the process of the great struggle to resist American aggression and aid Korea. Two and a half years ago, the American imperialists launched their heinous war of aggression against our neighbour, Korea, crossed the 38th Parallel and pushed on to the banks of the Yalu and Tumen Rivers along the borders of our country. At the same time, they occupied our territory of Taiwan. In order to preserve peace in the Far East and the world, to safeguard the security of our country and to support the just struggle of the Korean people against aggression, the Chinese people resolutely started their great campaign to resist American aggression and aid Korea. Hundreds of thousands of the finest sons and daughters of the Chinese people joined the Chinese people's volunteers and have fought shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army, repelling U.S. imperialist aggression and forcing the enemy back to the 38th Parallel, thereby upsetting the time-table of the American imperialists for a war of world-wide aggression, increasing the internal contradictions within the camp of imperialism and placing increasingly serious difficulties in the way of the frantic scheme of the American imperialists to attack the camp of peace and democracy and extend aggression. This armed struggle against aggression by the Chinese people has not, as the imperialists imagined, caused any halt or interruption in the social transformation and economic rehabilita-

tion of China. On the contrary, it has greatly stimulated the Chinese people's great spirit of patriotism and internationalism, infinitely strengthened their moral and political unity, conspicuously elevated the international status of our country, powerfully expanded the world movement against war and in defence of peace and reinforced the strength and influence of the world camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union. This great struggle to resist American aggression and aid Korea has been a tremendous driving force in every aspect of our work of national transformation and rehabilitation. The people of our country have everywhere joined in the struggle with ardour, signing patriotic pacts, increasing production and practising economy. In the course of this struggle, they have resolutely cast off any remaining ideological tendency to favour, worship or fear American imperialism which was left in the minds of some people by reactionary Kuomintang indoctrination. The people of our country have answered the American imperialists' war schemes by enthusiastic participation in the campaign for signatures for world peace. They have defeated American germ warfare by their patriotic mass sanitation movement. The campaign to resist American aggression and aid Korea has in fact guaranteed and accelerated the early and successful completion of our work of social transformation and economic rehabilitation.

Comrades! Three years or so is not a very long time. But our country's achievements in every field have already made our enemies panicky and uneasy while rejoicing and inspiring our friends.

We have been able to achieve such great successes because our people's democratic social and state systems are greatly superior to the capitalist system; because they enable the broad masses to develop their initiative and creativeness in labour; because the various nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties, people's organisations and all patriotic democrats of our country, as well as overseas-Chinese have been welded into a great people's democratic united front under the leadership of the Communist Party of China; because the brilliant foresight and guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has piloted the Chinese people in their confident march to victory, following a clear road through all the complications of domestic and international affairs, repeatedly overcoming difficulties, developing achievements and correcting shortcomings.

Our achievements are inseparable from the sincere, selfless, fraternal assistance of our great ally, the Soviet Union. Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in his message of greetings to Chairman Stalin on February

11, 1952, on the second anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, said:

We appreciate the enthusiastic and generous assistance given to the Government and people of China by the Soviet Government and people during the past two years in the spirit of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance and other related agreements. This assistance has greatly helped in the economic rehabilitation and development of New China and in the strengthening of the nation.

This assistance is precisely what Chairman Stalin referred to in his *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* when he wrote:

The point is not only that this assistance is the cheapest possible and technically superb. The chief point is that at the bottom of this co-operation lies a sincere desire to help one another and to promote the economic progress of all.

The Sino-Soviet Communique of September last year on the transfer of the Chinese Changchun Railway to our country, together with the Notes on the postponement of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Port Arthur, and the subsequent transfer without compensation of the Chinese Changchun Railway at the end of last year as scheduled, are a powerful expression of this sincere desire. The unbreakable, friendly co-operation between the two great allies, China and the Soviet Union, continues to develop and grow stronger. It has been and will continue to be a strong guarantee for people all over the world against imperialist aggression and for the maintenance of peace and security in the Far East and the rest of the world.

In carrying out our work of transformation and rehabilitation we have also enlisted the friendly support of all the other People's Democracies. Sincere friendly relations are growing between our country and these People's Democracies. We have concluded a series of economic and cultural agreements with them, including the Sino-Mongolian Agreement on Economic and Cultural Co-operation which was signed on October 4, 1952. These have brought further development and consolidation of the profound friendship and co-operative relations between our country and the other People's Democracies.

Trade relations between our country and the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, especially our trade relations with the Soviet Union, are expanding by leaps and bounds. The total value of

our trade with these countries rose from 26 per cent of our total foreign trade in 1950 to 72 per cent in 1952, and it will grow still further. Our country is a powerful component in the new democratic world market. Since relations between us are such that there is sincere concern for each others' interests and an earnest desire to help one another to advance victoriously, since economic co-operation among us is founded on the "sincere desire to help one another and to promote the economic progress of all", this new democratic world market is certain to continue to develop, consolidate and grow, boundlessly strengthening the camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union.

We do not discriminate against any capitalist country that is willing to develop trade relations with us on terms of equality and mutual benefit. We believe that countries with different systems can coexist peacefully. We firmly adhere to the policy of peace and oppose policies of war and aggression. We are willing to resume and establish trade relations, to develop a peace economy jointly with all countries willing to maintain peaceful relations with us.

The trade agreement between China and Ceylon and the agreement for triangular trade between China, the Soviet Union and Finland illustrate this vividly. On the other hand, the policy of "blockades" and "embargoes" against China carried out by countries following the lead of the American imperialists has failed to intimidate us; in fact it is not we, but precisely the countries which have submitted to the dictates of the American imperialists in applying such blockades and embargoes against our country, that have really suffered from these blockades and embargoes. It must be pointed out that the U.S. government is using its policy of "blockades" and "embargoes" to interfere in the domestic affairs and the diplomatic, trading and commercial policies of other countries, and to undermine normal relations in the world market, attempting to monopolise certain raw materials and markets and to expand U.S. military bases in order to control the economic arteries and political life of these countries. We believe that all the truly peace-loving, democratic forces in these countries, the forces which demand independence and sovereignty, will ultimately rise against this vicious scheme of the American imperialists.

Our policy of peace is determined by our country's system of people's democracy: this policy entirely conforms to the interests of our people and of the people of all other countries. However, in their reluctance to accept ignominious failure in China, the American imperialists, who head the camp of

imperialism and who are imbued with fanatic ambition to dominate the world, have never ceased throughout the three years since the victory of the Chinese people's revolution to intervene in and commit aggression against our country. At first, the United States ordered the remnant Chiang Kai-shek brigands to bomb and blockade our southeast coast but this very quickly failed. Then the American imperialists launched their aggressive war against our close neighbour, Korea, simultaneously invading and occupying our territory of Taiwan, and pushing toward the northeastern borders of our country in a vain attempt to recover their lost position in Asia and enslave the Korean and Chinese peoples once more. But owing to the heroic and stubborn fight waged by both the Korean and the Chinese peoples, the criminal conspiracy of the American imperialists and their international accomplices once again met with ignominious defeat. From the time the Chinese people's volunteers began to fight alongside the Korean People's Army up to the end of 1952, the so-called "United Nations Forces" suffered losses amounting altogether to 740,000 men. Among these U.S. casualties accounted for more than 320,000 men, a figure approximately equal to the total number of U.S. troops killed, wounded and captured during the First World War. Now the chief characteristics of the Korean war are that the Korean and Chinese people's forces are growing from strength to strength in the course of battle and the comradeship in arms between the Chinese and Korean peoples is becoming firmer day by day, while on the enemy side the loss and waste of troops and material is mounting, morale is dropping and internal contradictions are becoming more and more intense.

Because they want to create and maintain international tension so that the Wall Street bosses can grab the maximum amount of war profits, the American imperialists are refusing to learn anything from this defeat. In spite of the fact that the Korean and Chinese side in the Panmunjom armistice negotiations repeatedly put forward just and reasonable proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and agreement was reached on sixty-three paragraphs of the Draft Korean Armistice Agreement; in spite of the fact that the Soviet delegate at the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly submitted a proposal for an immediate cease-fire and for the transfer of the question of the repatriation of all war prisoners to the "Commission for the Peaceful Settlement of the Korean Question" and this proposal obtained the assent of the Korean and Chinese side, the American aggressors persisted in rejecting peace. They coerced the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly into illegally adopting without the parti-

cipation of the Korean and Chinese delegates the Indian resolution based on the American so-called principle of "voluntary repatriation" or "non-forcible repatriation", in order to prolong and extend the Korean war and maintain international tension. Emboldened by this illegal U.N. resolution, the U.S. government has in the past two months become increasingly active in its preparations for the extension of its military adventures in Asia. The U.S. aggressors are continuing their slaughter of prisoners of war in Korea, their germ warfare and indiscriminate bombing of peaceful civilians and peaceful installations in the rear areas of Korea, and are unilaterally tearing up the agreement providing for immunity from attack for the vehicles of the truce delegation in order to complete the wrecking of the Korean armistice talks. At the same time, in order to facilitate their military activities for the purpose of extending aggression, they are more and more frequently using their air force which is attacking Korea to intrude into the territorial air of China, bombing, strafing and killing Chinese people. Moreover, they have sent aircraft carrying special agents into our country for criminal strategic reconnaissance and the parachuting of secret agents to organise sabotage within China; and they are also directing and assisting the remnant Chiang Kai-shek brigands in schemes to create disturbances against our country. The whole Chinese people must be extremely vigilant with regard to this situation. While continuing to strengthen the struggle to resist American aggression and aid Korea, they must also reinforce our national defences and be ready at all times and in all places to deal devastating blows to enemies who dare to attack us.

The present U.S. imperialist policy of war and aggression is a universal menace that threatens the peaceful life of all the peoples of the world. The American imperialists have occupied and are building a large number of military bases in many countries in Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas. They are ruthlessly interfering in the domestic affairs of these countries, enslaving their people and forcing them to supply manpower and material for the unjust war of aggression in Korea. The U.S. government is tightening its control over the already weakened British and French colonialists and spurring them on in the wars they are waging in Malaya and Viet-Nam where they are massacring the people. Under the pretence of "aid", it is actually trying to control and seize all the British and French colonies in Asia and Africa. The U.S. imperialists are attempting to attain their sinister end of extending aggression by means of intrigues to make "Asians fight Asians". They are trying by every means to gather a handful of reactionaries throughout Asia, above all to rearm the militarist forces of Japan and

organise an aggressive Pacific bloc, seriously threatening the security of the Asian nations. The barbaric U.S. imperialists have the habit of using the people of Asia for "testing" their "new weapons". Their first two atomic bombs were dropped in Asia; their first germ bombs were dropped in Asia. Korean and Chinese prisoners of war have been constantly sent to secret places and used as victims in such "tests". Obviously, American imperialism has become the biggest menace to peace in Asia and the whole Far East. Only by checking and throwing back this threat can the people of Asia achieve peace and security. This is the common task of the peoples of all Asian countries.

As Chairman Stalin pointed out in his analysis in the *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, the imperialist camp of aggression headed by the United States is now seeking

the securing of the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries and, lastly, through wars and militarisation of the national economy, which are utilised for the obtaining of the highest profits.

Clearly, the criminal activities of the U.S. imperialists are daily increasing the menace of war to the people of the world.

One the other hand, however, the world camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union has become still mightier. The Soviet Union has overfulfilled the first two years' targets of the fifth five-year plan. The Soviet people are marching forward steadily towards Communism in the direction set by the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The People's Democracies in Eastern Europe, with the warm-hearted assistance of the Soviet people, are successfully carrying on socialist construction and have already achieved brilliant successes.

The people's movement for peace and against war has assumed world-wide proportions and is continuing to develop and grow with tremendous momentum drawing in hundreds of thousands of new people by the day and by the hour. The Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions held last October and the Congress of the Peoples for Peace in Vienna last December were a powerful demonstration of this ever growing strength of the peoples struggling for peace.

The national liberation movement, which aims to cast off the fetters of colonialism and semi-colonialism, has spread from Asia and Africa to Latin America. The mass struggle of the Japanese and German people against American occupation and enslavement, against the rearming of the German and Japanese militarists is also developing with each passing day.

At the same time, the contradictions within and between the various capitalist countries, and between the capitalist countries and their colonies and semi-colonies, are becoming more and more acute every day. From Japan across Southeast Asia, Africa, and Europe to the Americas, the mounting sentiment against the American imperialist policy of enslavement can be seen everywhere.

Thus the camp of imperialist aggression headed by the United States has exposed its inherent weakness, the weakness in the relations between ruler and ruled, made up as it is of countries on an unequal footing. This has generated insoluble contradictions which will lead inevitably to disintegration and war. This is precisely what Chairman Stalin told us when he described the situation in the capitalist world as follows:

Outwardly, everything would seem to be "going well". . . . But it would be mistaken to think that things can continue to "go well" for "all eternity", that these countries will tolerate domination and oppression by the United States endlessly, that they will not endeavour to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development. (*Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*)

It is also what Chairman Mao Tse-tung told us when he said:

. . . the enemy's foundation is weak; his camp is disintegrating; he is alienated from the people and confronted with inextricable economic crises; therefore he can be defeated. (*Revolutionary Forces of the World, Unite Against Imperialist Aggression!*)

The growth and consolidation of the camp of peace and democracy, the development of the people's peace movement throughout the world and the increasing contradictions within the imperialist camp all prove that the present international situation is developing in the direction forecast by Chairman Mao Tse-tung in his report *The Struggle for a Basic Turn for the Better in the Financial and Economic Situation of the State*, delivered in June 1950. The situation is increasingly favourable to us.

This is the picture of China's present domestic and international situation.

In these circumstances, the most pressing and important tasks for the Chinese people today are:

First. The Chinese people's struggle to resist American aggression and aid Korea must be still further strengthened; the strength of China's national defences must be still further consolidated and made more powerful. We shall mobilise the people throughout the country to support the great struggle to resist American aggression and aid Korea by increasing production, practising economy and working with redoubled efforts. The people all over the world have seen clearly that China has triumphantly ended her period of economic recovery and entered the epoch of large-scale planned construction, and that the Chinese people are full of enthusiasm for peaceful construction and the desire to maintain lasting peace.

But the Chinese people must at all times keep up their vigilance and expose the war schemes of the aggressors. They must be ready at any moment to wage resolute struggle against the imperialist forces which are hostile to them and obstruct China's construction. The Chinese people love peace but do not fear war. If the new administration in the United States still has any intention of ending the Korean war by peaceful means, it should unconditionally resume the Panmunjom negotiations. The Korean and Chinese side is prepared to stop fighting immediately in accordance with the Draft Korean Armistice Agreement which has been reached and to leave the question of the repatriation of all prisoners of war to be settled subsequently by the "Commission for the Peaceful Settlement of the Korean Question". In this way the ardent hopes of the people of all countries involved and of the rest of the world for an immediate cessation of the current hostilities would be speedily satisfied. This would also pave the way for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question and the other related questions in the Far East.

If the new U.S. government continues to pursue the policy of the Truman administration and does not want to resume the Panmunjom negotiations but goes on with and expands the Korean war, then the Korean and Chinese peoples on their part will continue their struggle—and they are fully prepared to do so. The Korean and Chinese peoples are deeply conscious of the fact that in dealing with imperialist provocations they can force the enemy to quit and attain the peace which the people so eagerly desire only by conducting resolute struggle so that every imperialist war scheme will encounter devastating

blows and every aggressive action will suffer complete defeat.

Second. Begin the first five year plan of national construction. In 1953, the first year of the first five-year plan, our industry and agriculture will register a marked rise in output compared with 1952. Based on the scheduled output of 1952 and the preliminary plan for 1953, taking the output of 1952 as 100, the production of important industrial and agricultural products in 1953 will be as follows: pig iron 114, steel ingots 123, coal 100, electric power generated 127, petroleum 142, copper 139, lead 149, zinc 154, machine tools 134, caustic soda 131, cement 117, timber 138, cotton yarn 109, cotton piece goods 116, paper 106, sugar 123, grain 109, raw cotton 116 and tea 116.

Alongside the growth in industry and agriculture, the expenditure for the country's social, cultural and educational developments will go up by 55.86 per cent as compared with 1952, investments in transport and communications undertakings will go up by 64.97 per cent and investments in water conservancy by 12.8 per cent. These figures show that our planned national construction is on a grand scale from the very beginning, that the tasks before us are both immense and glorious and fraught with many difficulties. Our weightiest and central task throughout this year is therefore to mobilise the working class and all the other people of the whole country to concentrate their efforts to overcoming difficulties and to exert themselves to fulfil and overfulfil the plan of construction for 1953. To complete this complex and arduous task, we must develop intensive, precise work at every step in the process. We must guarantee the income of the state and ensure that our plans of economic construction, national defence and social and cultural development are not affected by any shortage of funds. We must practise strict economy and oppose waste in every department, especially in those concerned with production. In accordance with the need and the possibilities, we must tap latent production forces to the full, reduce production costs and raise the quantity and quality of production. We must strengthen trade, transport and communications, improve management and administration and speed up the flow of industrial and agricultural goods and the exchange of commodities between town and countryside so as to meet the requirements of the people, stabilise commodity prices and accelerate the development of industry and agriculture.

We must rally all private industrialists and merchants whose enterprises are beneficial to the national interest and the people's livelihood, and enable them to develop their initiative under the

leadership of the state economy and the unified national plan. We must make a serious study of advanced Soviet experience, propagate the application of advanced experience, organise patriotic emulation and economy campaigns and gradually lift the living standards of the workers and peasants by raising the level of industrial and agricultural production.

We must make all working comrades understand that we are facing new things and new tasks, that we can overcome difficulties, fulfil our tasks, master our work and make fewer errors only by setting ourselves firmly against arrogance and complacency, by making every effort to learn humbly and by correcting our mistakes and shortcomings. We must strengthen our state discipline, oppose bureaucratism and commandism, mete out punishment to law-breakers and keep a strict watch against sabotage and destruction by vicious elements. It is our belief that under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China and with the assistance of advanced Soviet technique and the Soviet experts, the intelligent, industrious workers, peasants and intellectuals of China will certainly be able to bring their great initiative and creativeness into play and to carry out every concrete task and plan.

Third. In order to strengthen further our capacity to resist American aggression and aid Korea and to fulfil the state plan of construction successfully, we must in accordance with the resolution of the Central People's Government mobilise the people throughout the country to prepare actively for, and take part in, the election of the All-China People's Congress and the local people's congresses at all levels, and achieve a fuller democracy so as to give the greatest expression to the initiative of the entire population in their common effort. We all know that in accordance with the provisions of the Common Programme and the Organic Law of the Central People's Government the provisional organisational form which we have used in the past three years or more—the Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference assuming the functions and powers of the All-China People's Congress, and the local people's representative conferences of all-circles at all levels gradually assuming the functions and powers of the local people's congresses—was intended to pave the way for the All-China People's Congress and the local people's congresses to be elected by universal franchise. At the present time, taking the country as a whole, military operations on the mainland have long since ended completely and, with the exception of a few areas, land reform has been finished and all sections of the people have been organised. Consequently, conditions have fully matured for the convening of the All-China

People's Congress and the local people's congresses at all levels elected by universal franchise in accordance with Article 14 of the Common Programme. In fact, during the past three years and more, the number of delegates taking part in local people's representative conferences of all circles throughout China has reached more than 13,637,000. The number of those who have been directly or indirectly elected by the people has gradually grown. In most areas it has reached over 80 per cent of the total number of delegates. In the whole of China, 19 provinces, 85 cities, 436 counties and the greater part of more than 280,000 *hsiang* (or villages) have duly elected their people's governments through people's representative conferences of all circles or *hsiang* (or villages) peasant representative conferences. This is ample proof that the immediate introduction of the universal franchise is fully compatible with the real situation of the development of our people's democracy and conforms to the urgent needs of the people throughout the country. Though this is so far our first introduction of the universal franchise and preparations will take a certain amount of time, nevertheless, because the level of consciousness and organisation of our people throughout the country has been greatly lifted; because of their experience in convening local people's representative conferences at all levels; because at the same time the adoption of the system of direct election is starting primarily with the people's congresses which constitute the basic level of state power—there is no need for a lengthy interval between the election of representatives and the convening of the people's congresses at county and provincial (or municipal) levels so long as there is ample time for the election work at the basic level in the villages and urban areas to be prepared and carried through satisfactorily. The subsequent convening of the All-China People's Congress on these foundations will present no difficulties. The nation-wide election campaign will soon be launched. We should do wide publicity among the people on the vital significance of the resolution of the Central People's Government and mobilise them to take part in this election conscientiously and seriously so that they can elect those whom they themselves consider satisfactory and indispensable to represent them in the organs of state power and to take responsibility for administering national and local affairs.

After the convening of the All-China People's Congress, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference will continue to exist as the organisational form of the Chinese people's democratic united front in accordance with the provisions of the Common Programme. However, since it has been decided to convene the All-China People's Congress, it follows of course that in accordance with the provisions of

the Common Programme the second Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference will have no right to assume the functions and powers of the All-China People's Congress. As to the role it will play in the future, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in his closing speech at the second session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1950 put it this way:

This is how our country is advancing steadily, passing through the war, through new democratic reforms and, in the future, advancing steadily and securely into the new era of Socialism, after we have a flourishing national economy and culture, after all conditions are ripe and it has been considered and endorsed by the whole nation. . . .

Internationally, we must firmly unite with the Soviet Union, the various People's Democracies and all the peaceful and democratic forces throughout the world, for our great aim. There cannot be the slightest indecision or wavering on this question.

At home we must unite the various nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties and groups, people's organisations and all patriotic democrats and consolidate the great revolutionary united front which has been built and has won prestige.

We welcome anyone who contributes to the work of consolidating this revolutionary united

front no matter who he may be—he is correct. We oppose anyone who harms the work of consolidating this revolutionary united front—he is wrong.

This directive of Chairman Mao Tse-tung shows that the people's democratic united front, which made great contributions to the revolution, must continue in the future to be developed and consolidated. In view of this new situation, preparations should be made to introduce appropriate and necessary revisions in both the Common Programme and the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party of China, each component of this united front must henceforth understand its own responsibilities, clearly distinguish between friend and foe and between right and wrong and unite as one in the common effort to build the New Democratic state and advance to Socialism.

Comrades! The three tasks ahead of us are as important as they are glorious. We have every confidence that we can victoriously complete these great and urgent tasks. Experience in the past has proved that under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China the Chinese people are completely capable of achieving great and brilliant successes.

People of all nationalities and strata throughout the country! Unite still more closely, lift high the banner of Mao Tse-tung, advance with full confidence to still greater and more brilliant victories!

SOONG CHING LING'S SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE CHINA PEACE COMMITTEE

Full text of a speech delivered by Soong Ching Ling, leader of the Chinese Delegation to the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, at an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the China Peace Committee on January 26 1953.

The Chinese Delegation attended the Congress of the Peoples for Peace in Vienna on behalf of the people of China. The Congress achieved its historic mission: the resolutions of the Congress have been welcomed and find wide support among the people of the whole world. The Congress brought the peace-loving people of all countries together. They are now more closely united than ever before. The Congress sounded a warning signal to the imperialist warmongers.

The Chinese Delegation to the People's Congress for Peace had fulfilled its task entrusted to it by the Chinese people. Now that we have returned home, our task will be to report to our people on the spirit and resolutions of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, so that we can all of us together work for the cause of peace.

On the return journey, the Chinese Delegation was heartily welcomed and entertained by the Soviet people. We saw how the Soviet people, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin and their Communist Party, are building Communism with matchless enthusiasm. We also observed the steady rise of the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people. The warmth and cordiality of the Soviet people for the Chinese people was overwhelming. The

love and respect for New China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung were evident at every step. People in the Soviet Union are keenly interested in China's industrialisation and progress and stand ready to help us on every occasion. This fraternal friendship between the Chinese and the Soviet peoples is the strongest bulwark of world peace. The Chinese and Soviet peoples are now marching together along the road of peaceful construction, each of us fully capable of building a happy and prosperous life for our people, defending our country and safeguarding peace.

When we of the Chinese Delegation learned that in 1953 our country would continue to strengthen the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, begin our first five-year plan of economic construction and convene the All-China People's Congress, we cheered a long time. The perspectives and confidence expressed in this movement show how closely our patriotism is linked with the cause of peace. We are convinced that the Chinese people, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party, will accomplish the tasks of construction and continue our contribution in defence of world peace.

Let us proclaim our faith with: Long Live Peace!

RESOLUTION OF THE CHINA PEACE COMMITTEE SUPPORTING THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace, held in Vienna in December, 1952, was a historic congress for the defence of peace and against war.

After hearing the Chinese Delegation's report on the spirit and the resolutions of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, the China Peace Committee considers that the Congress was very broadly representative in character and its achievements and influence very great and far reaching. The two documents—the "Address of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace to the Governments of the Five Great Powers" and the "Appeal of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace"—together with the three appendices adopted by the Congress conform completely to the will and desire of the Chinese people and of the peace-loving people of the world. They constitute a programme of action for easing the present international tension. We resolutely support and endorse them with the greatest enthusiasm.

The consensus of opinion of the delegates of the peoples of all the countries at this Congress was that the cause of the growing international tension and the danger of a world war lie in the American imperialist policy of war and aggression. For the sake of maintaining maximum profits for the munitions merchants, American imperialism is frantically pursuing a policy of war propaganda, an armaments drive and war preparations. These constitute a serious menace to peace in Asia, Europe and the rest of the world. The convocation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace was timely, and its resolutions will play a great role in mobilising and

inspiring the people to further extend the movement in defence of peace and against war.

The resolutions of the Congress stressed and demanded that, in order to ease international tension, the governments of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the People's Republic of China, Great Britain and France immediately begin negotiations for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers. The peoples and governments of China and the Soviet Union have expressed their full support for this demand, which represents the will of all mankind, and have made very great efforts to achieve it. However, the governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France have all along ignored the pressing demand of the people throughout the world for the conclusion of a Five-Power Peace Pact. This shows that the aggressive bloc, headed by the United States of America, rejects the method of peaceful negotiation and, instead, is brazenly attempting to settle international disputes by the use of force. At the present moment, when international tension is still increasing, it is absolutely right and necessary for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace to put forward once again the demand that the governments of the Five Great Powers start immediate negotiations for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace. We should exert our utmost efforts to achieve this demand.

The Congress demanded that all hostilities in Korea should cease immediately. This is a step of paramount importance to the ending of the current war in Korea. Since its unilateral announcement of a suspension of the Korean

armistice talks, the United States has continued its fantastic attempts to expand the Korean war. Encouraged by the "Indian draft resolution" which the United Nations General Assembly illegally adopted, the U.S. has perpetrated the bloody massacre in the P.O.W. camp on Pongam Island and is continuing to wage bacteriological warfare in North Korea. It recently went even further and sent its aircraft to intrude into the territorial air of Northeast China for strategic reconnaissance and has on numerous occasions carried out bombing of the area. All this demonstrates that the American aggressors are obstinately defying the unanimous demand of the peace-loving people throughout the world for an immediate end to the Korean war and are plotting to prolong and expand this aggressive war.

We believe that "the people will turn the tide." If the people all over the world unite in defence of peace and carry out the resolutions of the Congress through their common efforts, peace in Asia and the world will be defended, and the schemes of the warmongers to expand aggressive war will be bound to fail. We fully support the demand of the Congress to end the war in Korea immediately and firmly believe that if the Chinese and Korean people and other peace-loving people throughout the world unite and work unceasingly to carry it out, this demand will certainly be realised.

The China Peace Committee calls on the people throughout the country to give their enthusiastic support to the resolutions of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace and to strive for the fulfilment of these resolutions.

The China Peace Committee calls on the people throughout the country to develop the struggle in defence of peace and against aggressive war by exerting themselves to fulfil the three great tasks for 1953. These are: to continue to strengthen the work of resisting American aggression and aiding Korea, to carry out planned national construction and to support the convocation of the All-China People's Congress and the local people's congresses at all levels. Only by successful efforts to fulfil these three great tasks can we ensure that the resolutions adopted by the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will be implemented.

The China Peace Committee hopes that the local organisations of the various democratic parties, the people's organisations and the various branches of this Committee will hold representative meetings of the people of all circles, and, wherever possible, report on the resolutions and spirit of the Congress at mass meetings so as to further mobilise and organise the people throughout the country in the struggle for the fulfilment of the resolutions of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

The China Peace Committee
Peking
January 26, 1953

KUO MO-JO ANSWERS QUESTIONS ON THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE

On January 25, a correspondent of the Hsinhua News Agency asked Kuo Mo-jo, deputy-leader of the Chinese Delegation to the Congress of the Peoples for Peace held in Vienna (December 12-19, 1952), some questions on the significance of the Congress to Asia. The questions and answers are printed in full below:

What, in your estimation, is the significance of the fact that 239 delegates of 21 Asian countries attended the Congress?

It shows that the basis of the peace movement has been further extended in Asia, that there has been fuller recognition among the peace-loving people of Asia that peace in Asia is inseparable from world peace. To defend peace not only the peoples of Asia but also the peoples of the rest of the world must work together in unity.

This is one of the achievements of the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, and this will result in the still greater consolidation and broadening of unity among Asian countries in their efforts for peace.

What new favourable conditions have been created by the resolutions and the other achievements of the Congress for the movement to achieve peace in Asia and the whole world?

The Congress made clear the fundamental cause of international tension, that is, the policy of war and aggression of the U.S. Government, and expressed the common desire of the people of the whole world for peace and against war. The basis of the peace movement has been broadened. The confidence of the peace-loving people in victory has thus increased, and it is harder for the warmongers to deceive the people.

Do you think the people of the Western countries are more concerned than before in stopping the wars in Korea, Viet-Nam and Malaya and in the other important events occurring in the East?

Yes, they are. My speech "Stop the Wars That Are Now Going on" was most warmly received by the whole gathering. "Long Live Peace" (the documentary film of the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions) was unanimously acclaimed by and inspired its audiences. The exhibition on the germ warfare crime of the U.S. Government also gained the attention of the delegates and citizens of Vienna and enabled them to see with their own eyes the evidence of the crime of the U.S. Government in waging bacteriological warfare in Korea and Northeast China. These are the proofs.

How will the Chinese Delegation popularise the resolutions of the Congress among the Chinese people?

The Delegation is drawing up a written report to the people of the whole country, while delegates will make speeches and broadcasts individually in various places and at different times. We will explain that the resolutions of the Congress are now the common programme of action for the people of all countries in their task of defending peace and that our Chinese people have the responsibility of carrying them out. But, in order to carry out the resolutions, our peace movement must be combined with the three main tasks of national construction in 1953. We must intensify the movement to resist American aggression and aid Korea, ensure the carrying out of our planned construction and proceed with nation-wide elections and the enactment of a constitution. The successful accomplishment of these three main tasks will in itself constitute a strong guarantee for peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

